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From the Contents:

1960 — AFRICA YEAR

J. Kale

KHRUSHCHEV IN ASIA

O. Miličević

PEACETIME AND WARTIME ARMIES

F. Tudjman

LEGAL ASPECT OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS

V. Kosović

DISARMAMENT AND AMERICAN ECONOMY

R. Lombardi

PROJECTS IN EASTERN HERZEGOVINA

S. Mikulec

Yugoslavia and West Africa's Countries

Marijan Barišić

OFFICIAL STATEMENTS

REGIONAL INTEGRATIONS CONTRIBUTE TO THE INCREASE IN WORLD TRADE

by Reginald MAUDLING

President of the British Board of Trade

Bearing in mind the exceptionally significant role of economic co-operation and international trade in the wellbeing of peoples and in the creation of better living conditions in the contemporary world, our Review sent the following questions to the foreign trade ministers of a number of countries, inviting their replies.

In this number we publish the answers supplied by Reginald Maudling, President of the British Board of Trade.

QUESTION: *An abatement of international tension took place during the past few months. In your opinion to what extent can the improvement of international climate contribute to the promotion of various forms of economic cooperation and especially the strengthening of trade relations?*

ANSWER: United Kingdom external economic aims at the creation of conditions in the world in which international trade and payments can take place with the minimum of Government intervention. The United Kingdom Government are keen to see British goods accepted in the markets of any country which accords fair and considerate treatment to British exporters. The British market is in turn one of the freest in the world.

The United Kingdom Government have been reluctant to allow political tension to affect the broad external economic policies which they have pursued. They have played their full part in all the economic activities of United Nations bodies such as the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. They have also contributed effort and money to the work of all the United Nations Specialised Agencies and to voluntary programmes of United Nations assistance such as the Extended Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund. They are associated with all international agreements for the regulation of commodity trade and are members of all international study groups which are dealing with particular commodities. I hope that, if there are governments in the world who have withheld their full cooperation from these activities because of international tensions, the easing of these tensions will lead to a revision of these policies. In general, however, I believe that it is perhaps easier for increased economic co-operation and increased trade to lead to a diminution of international tension than for the reverse to happen. Naturally, however, if a lessening of tension could lead to a significant reduction

in expenditure on armaments, the resources of the world which can be used for peaceful purposes would be greatly increased. This must in turn lead to increased trade and, one would hope, to increased economic co-operation.

QUESTION: What essential significance do you attribute to the tendencies of regional integration and what effect will the integrated regions have on the development of world trade in general?

ANSWER: I think that the tendency towards regional integration arises out of two developments — the increasing speed of communications and the increased size of units of production which can operate with the maximum efficiency only with a large market free from barriers to trade. The significance of the tendency is that measures of integration, provided that they create trade and do not merely divert it from existing channels, will not only strengthen the economies of the members of a regional group but also contribute to prosperity and a rising standard of living in the rest of the world. I think that the effect of integration will be to increase world trade.

QUESTION: What are your views regarding the present state and future prospects of economic cooperation between your country and Yugoslavia?

ANSWER: With the growing strength of the Yugoslav economy the outlook for trade between the United King-

dom and Yugoslavia is very encouraging. There are hardly any restrictions now on imports into the United Kingdom from Yugoslavia. Exports of Yugoslav goods to the United Kingdom have increased substantially in recent years, and with free access to the United Kingdom market there is every prospect that these exports will continue to grow. Exports from the United Kingdom to Yugoslavia have not so far shown a similar rise, but I have good hopes that the United Kingdom will be able to play an increasing part in the supply of a wide range of equipment for Yugoslavia's expanding industries. Moreover, several well-known United Kingdom products are already being made in Yugoslavia under licence agreements — for example, tractors and diesel engines — and this form of co-operation between United Kingdom manufacturers and Yugoslav enterprises is likely to become of increasing importance in the future.

I have said above that I think the effect of regional integration will be to increase world trade. I should like to add that, so far from fearing that the United Kingdom's membership of the European Free Trade Association will retard an over-all expansion of trade between the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia or the development of economic co-operation between the two countries, I hope and believe that on the contrary this reinforcement of our buoyant economy will offer enlarged opportunities to yours.

CURRENT TOPICS

On the Eve of the Committee of Ten Meeting

The forthcoming meeting of the Committee of Ten marks the resumption of concrete talks on disarmament, and is therefore an event of considerable significance. This is particularly accentuated by the fact that it precedes the top-level conference at which, judging by all indications, the problem of disarmament will figure most prominently. In fact, since the break of negotiations in the Sub-Committee of the UN Disarmament Commission in 1957, there have been no continuous and concrete negotiations between the big powers, except for the general treatment of disarmament at General Assembly sessions, the conference on suspension of nuclear tests, which is still going on, and the conference on measures to prevent surprise attacks, which has ended without result.

Nevertheless, the past period cannot be viewed exclusively from an unfavourable angle, despite the lack of agreement on disarmament and the resumption of the race in developing the weapons of mass destruction. Although concrete negotiations have been suspended temporarily, definite favourable changes, necessary to create more realistic prospects for the wished-for progress in the field of disarmament, have been taking place in the international situation.

Some initial prerequisites have already been attained. Disarmament has definitely been recognized as a fundamental problem in international relations, and as a priority question in East-West negotiations. The objective significance and difficulty of this problem and the growing pressure of world public opinion will render substantially more difficult any attempt to remove this problem from the agenda unsolved. Further more, orientation towards the need for agreement on general disarmament, which is the only means to achieve the lasting consolidation of peace and security, has been accepted in a declaratory way. And finally, a new mechanism for negotiations — the inter-bloc committee — has been set up on the basis of parity. This should be connected with the United Nations, which continues to be the only international forum capable, in the long run, of implementing and guaranting real disarmament.

The mechanism for negotiations does not, of course, in itself provide for success in the settlement of disarmament problem. In view of this, the committee would not have any exceptional advantages over previous bodies. But it is true that this body reflects some indispensable, though temporary elements, that is, that at the present stage of international situation,

disarmament is being negotiated by blocs on an equal footing, and with a view to halting the arms race and finding an acceptable basis for its gradual elimination. The process of general disarmament, however, can evolve only on a wider basis, which would provide for the participation of other countries represented neither in the body mentioned, nor in the existing bloc formations. Accordingly, however realistic it may be that concrete negotiations should start between those powers which are directly engaged in the arms race, it will also be necessary for other members of the international community to appear as participants in and guarantors of the negotiations.

The question is what the platform is and the prospects are for the negotiations within the Committee of Ten. So far, only some plans and variants are known, which do not exclude the possibility of new, modified proposals appearing from one or the other side at a later stage.

So far as the Soviet Union is concerned, the well-known plan on general and complete disarmament, submitted by Prime Minister Khrushchev at last year's session of the UN General Assembly and widely appraised as a constructive platform for negotiations, continues to be the basis of the attitude taken by the Soviet Union and its camp. Apart from this, a programme of possible initial and limited disarmament measures, such as the proposal to set up an atom-free zone, to reduce the number of troops, and to remove the threat of surprise attack, have also been suggested. It should be pointed out that the Soviet Union has taken some practical unilateral measures, such as the reduction of its armed forces by one third, which should facilitate agreement in this respect.

For the moment, the situation on the Western side is far more complicated, since there is still no common and elaborated plan of negotiation. In fact, Lloyd's plan of total disarmament is still the only complete proposal among the Western powers. But some elements of the future Western plan may be visualized from a recent speech by Herter, who dealt with disarmament as a part of the American concept of security and cohesion of the Western bloc, as well as from the first published alternatives elaborated by the Western members of the Committee of Ten.

According to the ideas of the Western powers, the process of disarmament should pass through three stages. The first would consist of measures to ban the production of nuclear weapons, to limit the armed forces, and particularly to set up an international supervisory organisation to guard against surprise attacks; and measures concerning the production of fissionable material, would be carried out in the second stage. A decision to ban the production and use of all weapons of mass destruction would be passed in the third stage, when a study of concrete possibilities and measures in respect of the annihilation of such weapons, would begin. Obviously, the emphasis of these ideas and proposals lies on the creation of conditions for gradual general disarmament.

The United States which, according to Herter, will appraise the proposed disarmament agreements from the standpoint of the security of the United States and the West, seem to insist on this in particular. The insistence on a firm system of control and inspection, as well as the linking of the problem of general disarmament with the creation of an international mechanism and international forces to guarantee such disarmament, are essential characteristics of the American approach to the consideration of these problems.

It is too early to prognosticate more definitely on the prospects of the forthcoming negotiations. But despite major differences, certain points of contact in the attitude of both sides can be seen. These are a certain rapprochement of views, primarily in connection with the ban to carry out nuclear tests for military purposes, the establishment of the level and reduction of the conventional armed forces, and possibly also the desirability to create zones of limited armament and inspection. Generally speaking, the problem of agreement on the ban of nuclear tests should be easiest to solve, in view of the fact that despite slow progress and various difficulties, the Geneva Conference on the tests has drawn views so closely together and narrowed down the differences to such an extent that the final agreement depends more on actual readiness to reach it as soon as possible, than on the objective obstacles standing in its way.

It should be pointed out that the problems of control, and the inclusion of the rockets with atomic warheads in the process of disarmament, are the most difficult questions, since it is obvious that, despite the usefulness of the initial measures of disarmament in different spheres, there can be no real disarmament without a halting of the arms race in rockets with atomic warheads, which is increasingly becoming the basis of the military potential of the big powers, and consequently also a latent source of conflict. A special problem is the tendency to spread nuclear weapons, which is an inevitable result of the race in developing and improving these weapons, and which is beginning to cause concern among the biggest powers in view of other countries, demands and endeavours to obtain such weapons, in the absence of a disarmament agreement. This all points to the necessity to seek possibilities of agreement also in respect to the rockets with atomic warheads and their speedier inclusion in gradual disarmament.

However complex and complicated the field of disarmament is, since it touches upon the material relationship of forces and the fundamental positions of the big powers, under the existing conditions it is nevertheless the most suitable field for gradual agreement, and for the application of the principles of reciprocal concessions. It is more than ever obvious that the settlement of other controversial political problems, such as the problem of Germany, is difficult to achieve without further improvement in the international atmosphere, and continuous progress in the field of disarmament.

Yugoslavia and West Africa's Countries

by Marijan BARIŠIĆ

The area ordinarily understood by West Africa extends from Dakar in Senegal to the bend in the Gulf of Guinea where Nigeria and the Cameroons join up. Situated in that part of Africa is one of the oldest independent African states of recent times — Liberia — and there are two other countries there which have latterly gained independence, thanks to the tenacious struggle of their peoples — Ghana, in 1957, under the leadership of Dr. K. Nkrumah, and Guinea, in 1958, under its leader Sekou Toure. In this year of 1960, which is generally regarded by the liberating movements of Africa as a fateful one for the future of the whole continent, independence will be gained by the former Trusteeship Territory of Togo, on April 27, and by the largest country in Africa, Nigeria, on October 1. The Cameroons proclaimed independence on January 1 this year.

The mentioned historic dates of the Continent of Africa marking the road to the independence of a number of peoples and countries of West Africa indicate that this area finds itself in the forefront of the liberating struggle of the people of what is termed Darkest Africa, that is to say, the part of Africa south of the Sahara. The initiative for the first conference of the independent countries of Africa in April, 1958 came from Ghana, and the first Pan-African Conference on the territory of Africa was held in December, 1958 in Accra, in Ghana.

Mutual contacts and consultations between the leading statesmen of Guinea, Liberia and Ghana, on matters of their further development and on general African problems, have already become routine. The last of such meetings was held in February this year in Ghana. This role of the countries of West Africa is the result, first of all, of the militant traditions of the people from that area, who bitterly resisted the slave-traders for centuries, to show armed resistance, too, to the later invasion of the colonial powers. The people of Ghana and Guinea and other territories had warred for years against the colonial invaders. Subsequently, thought the armed forces of the colonialists had introduced so-called order and enslaved those peoples through armed superiority, the resistance against the colonial civil administration never stopped. It manifested itself in preventing the extraction of those countries' wealth. In subsequent phases, parallel with the growth of African nationalism and political consciousness among the colonized peoples of West Africa, in the first post-war years resistance was manifested against the so-called policy of assimilation of the indigenous population on the part of the metropolitan countries.

In the latest phase of the efforts to retain the old colonial positions by way of the so-called communities, as Sekou Toure said, the people of Guinea voted in the mass and resolutely against community and for independence.

Unquestionably the countries of West Africa are among the economically richer parts of the Continent, where the developed economic forces and goods-monetary relationships have influenced quicker changes in the old tribal structure of the African society. Resistance to colonial exploitation, again, has bred a popular consciousness concerning the position of inequality of the people in every department. Ruthless exploitation in Africa has wiped out tribal boundaries and differences by throwing entire peoples into permanent misery, while racial discrimination has been a deep insult to the human dignity of all Africans, regardless of their social position or personal convictions. Every cultural tradition, and every creative capability, too, was denied to the peoples of Africa. The Negro had become synonymous with the most exploited and the most despised human creature on our planet.

Under such conditions, the struggle against colonialism as an all-embracing system of exploitation of Africa created the basis for a united front of all Africans for their liberation. On this social basis there emerged the liberating movements and their political parties and popular leaders, to restore the usurped liberties to their peoples through a successful struggle. These personalities have already become legendary among the people. Nkrumah, Sekou Toure and others have become symbols of freedom; they enjoy the undivided confidence of their people, whom they are leading towards a better, freer life, to participate in the general development of mankind constructively and on a basis of equality.

The unity of the peoples of Africa within the framework of individual states and on the Pan-African level has its deep roots in the fateful affinity of those exploited who have nothing to lose and who have every human value to expect from their struggle and their future.

All the speeches and writings of the leading politicians in West Africa, primarily those of Nkrumah and Sekou Toure, suggest that Africans today, in consequence of their special historic development, actually represent a unified mass of the exploited, whose political and social practice is adjusted accordingly. Such conceptions are also advanced by all prominent cultural workers of Darkest Africa. The same ideas dominated the congress of Negro writers

and artists in Paris, in 1956, and Rome, in 1959. In the theses for discussion at the Rome Congress it was emphasized that "...in our time political independence needs to be safeguarded by economic and cultural independence. This means that the undeveloped peoples must build up their unity. Their natural weakness dictates their solidarity."

A number of resolutions were passed at this Congress. Of special importance was the resolution on political science which warned against the danger of European assimilation, which might obscure African aims in the following words: "...we recognize to no European political party whatever has the right to exploit our forces as its pivot, and we do not want to be the appendage of anyone. In that domain, as in every other, we retain the initiative and remain free to conclude with the democrats of the whole world any alliance consonant with our aims."

The practice and theory of former colonial territories which have now become independent countries and active subjects on the international political scene, indicates that these countries wish to keep a free hand in their specific course of development, and that they wish to co-operate comprehensively on a basis of equality with all countries, without taking sides with any bloc in the world. This attitude stems from their own experience, gained in the struggle for independence — an independence now jealously guarded and attended by a continuous struggle for their own independent economic and cultural development.

The countries of West Africa, especially Ghana and Guinea, are opposed to transportation of world conflicts to the Continent of Africa. In their foreign-political activity they rely with confidence on the United Nations Organization, being aware that their presence in UNO adds strength to it, just as through the strengthening of UNO their own independence is enabled to assume a broader framework, especially since they look forward to considerable economic assistance through UNO for their economic buildup.

Most of these attitudes have also been expressed in the communiqués which were issued in January this year at the conclusion of the visit of the Yugoslav Good Will Mission to Ghana and Guinea, and its conversations there. The Governments concerned emphasized the need for closer co-operation of all countries, especially those outside the existing blocs, as well as for comprehensive assistance for the development of undeveloped countries, and lastly, for liquidation of the remnants of colonialism, all this being a prerequisite for the preservation of world peace.

Although our country has opened its first representations in that part of Africa only recently, it is not unknown to the political and social personalities of Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Togo, Nigeria and other African countries. In the UN Trusteeship Council in particular, where our delegation has always supported the justified demands of the peoples from the trusteeship territories in Africa, the activity of the

Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia has been appreciated by all those fighting against colonialism.

The activity of the Yugoslav delegation in the United Nations Organization in the cause of economic assistance to undeveloped countries through various UN agencies, and especially the many years' striving of our delegation in the United Nations Organization for the creation and strengthening of SUNFED, has convinced all anti-colonialists in Africa of the sincere desire of Yugoslavia to help the undeveloped countries in their development.

Yugoslavia's independent policy, her non-adherence to the blocs and adoption of a principled stand on all issues of international significance in UN and beyond is what makes Yugoslavia a natural ally of all the exploited and oppressed who are liberating themselves in Africa and elsewhere. The public in the independent, and also of the still-dependent, countries follow closely the way different countries vote on issues such as the A-bomb test explosion in the Sahara, and the Algerian question. The African press regularly records the attitude of different European governments on similar issues, and it misses no opportunity of calling the attention of the African public to the friendly moves and attitude of the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

The West African trip of Yugoslav Government's Good Will Mission was noted everywhere by the local press and, besides friendly comment on the foreign-political activity of Yugoslavia, prominence

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was given everywhere to our Mission's declaration concerning the preparedness of the Yugoslav Government to establish co-operation in the economic field, particularly by extending credit facilities for the industrial development of those countries.

It is to be noted that one important reason for the sympathy the peoples and statesmen of the countries of West Africa show for Yugoslavia is the successful socialist building up of our country. Our experiences in this, and the rapid, comprehensive development of our economy, encourage responsible persons, particularly in undeveloped areas, in their faith in a better future for their peoples, and the possibility of their own economic development without relapse into political dependence. Everybody is interested in the example of the development of independent Yugoslavia, her experiences are sought for because they open the prospect of a better life with an insured independence. Besides, the already established co-operation in all domains with the countries of East

Africa, Sudan and Ethiopia, testifies to those countries that Yugoslavia goes beyond mere lip-service in her actions, as witness the tangible results of her fruitful co-operation with Sudan, Ethiopia, U. A. R. and so on.

It is on such bases and principles that co-operation is desired by the countries of West Africa with all countries, because they are conscious that relationships of equality in mutual co-operation not only make for the normal peaceful development of their countries, but that this is one of the preconditions for world peace, for the maintenance of which they are seriously concerned. The appearance of the new countries of West Africa on the world scene constitutes a fresh contribution to the general progress of mankind and the maintenance of peace. Yugoslav public opinion therefore welcomes and rejoices over the birth of every new, independent country in Africa, and approves of friendly comprehensive co-operation with them, which will definitely be recorded as a part of new, more equitable relations between peoples.

VIEWS AND OPINIONS

1960—AFRICA YEAR

by John K. KALE

Foreign Affairs Secretary of Uganda National Congress

A YEAR has passed since the historical event of the All-African Peoples Conference. At this meeting the African peoples, guided by the reality of the fact that their emancipation ultimately depended on their own determination to achieve it, fixed a firm date for Africa's complete liberation by 1963. Citing the fruits of one year's concerted action and collective struggle, there can hardly be any fear that the date limit fixed for the termination of colonialism from our continent was unrealistic, as was the common gossip amongst colonialist circles. On the contrary, with further efforts we can and possibly shall attain our cherished goal in advance of the date limit. *There is nothing to lose but our chains. There is a continent to gain and human dignity to attain.*

Nineteen-sixty is a year of historic significance in the African evolution to full nationhood and sovereignty. It represents the sum total of Africa's march to freedom. But if it paraphrases the African struggle for independence it equally reflects the impact of the moral support Africa has incessantly counted on from all freedom-loving people the world over. A graphical or chronological presentation of Africa 1960 is even more interesting. African liberation in this year has assumed a chain structure, so that every month has something to offer to Africa.

JANUARY IS FOR KAMERUN, RUANDA-URUNDI, KENYA & BASUTOLAND.

On the 1st January, Kamerun, under French administration, is to attain "independence." The evolution of Kamerun to independence will perhaps go down in history as the most complex problem in the United Nations Trusteeship System. While the Kamerun problem demonstrated to the world the most extraordinary genius on the part of France to devise colonial intrigues to keep this country in the French orbit,

it also confirmed the solidarity of the Afro-Asian group at the United Nations.

Although pre-independence elections were not conducted, and the UPC is not to be legalised by the Independence Day, it is quite obvious that no mistake can be made to accredit this Independence of the Kamerun to the current government in power. But it also cannot be denied that this independence of the Kamerun, despite its contradictions in the form of French military troops and other suspicious appearances connected with the former colonial master, is a heroic achievement of the Kamerun people.

Now that Kamerun is on the eve of independence, the African people wish and expect the Kamerun peoples to take a united action to consolidate their independence, in the spirit of Pan-Africanism and in the framework of eventual African Unity. We know the French imperialists will not stop their colonial plots even if they be in different guises, but Kamerun cannot agree to be a hatching ground for colonial conspiracies against the unity and independence of Africa. It is the duty of all Africans as a whole to contribute to the real and complete independence of Kamerun. The bald truth is that teleguided independence may even prove to be as dangerous as naked colonialism.

UNITED NATIONS MISSION TO VISIT RUANDA-URUNDI.

The recent events in Ruanda-Urundi which caused the loss of over 200 lives were yet a further demonstration of the evil intentions of the Belgian colonialists. Quite frightened by the Congolese demand for independence, the Belgians vainly thought bloodshed was the sole deterrent to Africa's irresistible march to freedom. Although they should have known better from their experiences in the Congo, the Belgian administration in Ruanda-Urundi stage-managed the so-called "tribal war" in

Ruanda-Urundi to negatively influence the UN General Assembly's debate on the future of Ruanda-Urundi.

Contrary to the Belgian calculated plan, the United Nations Trusteeship Committee was left in no doubt that the events in Ruanda-Urundi were of the same pattern as those prevalent in Africa, and the assembly tacitly but firmly indicated that the Administering Authority was not altogether blameless. A proof of this, which in fact is tantamount to real censure, was the unanimous decision to send a United Nations Visiting Mission as soon as possible and this time with a particular mandate to report on the recent events and to recommend on Independence.

The mission will visit Ruanda-Urundi this month. The Belgian Administration, however, has had a record in sheltering UN visiting missions from the population of Ruanda-Urundi and of penalising those who challenged this tradition. Now with Ruanda under military rule and hundreds of people in prison, what are the chances of real and effective contact of the people with the visiting mission? The situation is even further aggravated by the fact that Ruanda-Urundi refugees in Uganda are to be repatriated, so as to minimise the danger of any true information reaching the Visiting Mission even from outside the country.

While one must refrain from painting a desperate picture of the situation, yet the world must know that for the satisfaction of the UN obligations, the atmosphere in Ruanda-Urundi should be conducive to the success of the Visiting Mission. It would appear necessary therefore that the Belgian troops be withdrawn from the country, normal human and civil liberties restored and political activities permitted. Further, the British Government in Uganda should not force Banyaruanda refugees back to Ruanda till a normal atmosphere obtains. Apart from the human and international aspects of this refugee issue, the presence of relatively freer nationals of Ruanda-Urundi in Uganda would, in the last resort, give the truth of the situation in Ruanda to the visiting mission.

KENYA CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE IN LONDON.

On January the 18th a constitutional Conference on the future of Kenya is to start in London. Later in the year there will be elections in Kenya, presumably based on the results of this conference.

Although the absence of settlers in countries like Uganda was no factor in constitutional concessions in many British colonies, the Kenya and Central African Federation problems have always been viewed via the settlers' selfish interests. In Tanganyika and Uganda some sort of self-government has been forecast. In the north of Kenya, Somalia is to be independent and British Somaliland to be self-governing. It would be most unrealistic to keep the Kenya Africans blind to these events. The Kenya African Nationalists have demanded a responsible democratic government in 1960, to be followed by a short transition period leading to independence. One can hardly value this situation differently. Britain must have the courage to show the settlers the hard facts of life. Africa is the home of the African people, a people who have similar feelings of dignity, freedom and national sovereignty as the British people themselves. The settlers in Kenya have only two choices. They must accept the African majority rule or seek another home elsewhere.

"ADULT FRANCHISE,, IN BASUTOLAND.

Basutoland, an African oasis in an ocean of South African apartheid, is to have its first election on adult franchise on January 20th, under its new constitution.

Although the new constitution is a step in the right direction, the British High Commissioner in Basutoland has distorted the spirit and letter of the promised advances. The franchise, for instance, is limited to tax-payers, hence automatically disfranchising women.

With the poor economy of Basutoland a good number of its population are employed in South Africa. Apart from their earning power this section of the population are the most sensitive to the right of vote and this is even further inflamed by the circumstances surrounding them in South Africa. Instead of arranging local polling stations where their number justifies it in South Africa or arranging the travelling of voters to their

homeland for elections, the British High Commissioner insists on the *postal voting system*, the abuses of which will be inevitable. These dangers have been emphasised by the Basutoland Congress Party.

The British High Commissioner's objection to an alternative to the postal election system, because of the expenses that would be incurred, is not a reason strong enough to justify corruption and the return of an unrepresentative government, especially at this juncture in African history. With all the criticisms of the British People and occasionally of the government against the undemocratic political prestige of South Africa, Britain must give the example within the borders of South Africa itself that her concept of democracy is in accord with her practices.

FEBRUARY IS FOR BRITISH SOMALILAND AND THE "FRENCH COMMUNITY."

The Independence of Somalia in July 1960, has had a tremendous impact on the dissected Somalilands. This has given birth to the Pan-Somali Movement, aimed at liberating and uniting the artificially divided Somali People. The British, learning from their long colonial experiences, found out that they could not stand in the current of Somali unity. This has made them abandon their much preached "step by step progress to self-government." Without any real elected people in the last British Somaliland Legislative Council, the British Government has given a "concession" for an elected majority in the coming Legislative Council. This will bring British Somaliland in line with the other Somalilands, in preparation for their unity.

Now that the British have attempted in Somaliland to view realistically the African upsurge, their French opposite number should follow suit. The French government cannot persuade anybody that "French Somaliland voted for 'Ilois Cadres' at the 1959 Referendum. The truth is that the referendum was neither democratically nor fairly conducted. The only way France could redeem her injustices against the African people would be to allow political freedom in French Somaliland and remove her ad hoc created obstacles to retard the unity of the Somalilands.

BEGINNING OF THE END OF THE FRENCH COMMUNITY.

In February the Senate of the French Community will meet, to be followed soon after by an extraordinary meeting of the French Parliament to consider considerable changes relative to the Community.

These deliberations are logical events in the process of the disintegration of the French Community. Early in 1959 the Federation of Mali decided to demand real independence. This was formally put to General de Gaulle, and its acceptance was officially endorsed at the French Community meeting at St. Louis du Senegal in December. Mauritania and Madagascar also demanded freedom, and so did Dahomey. Although assured of the support of the Ivory Coast's Premier, de Gaulle was incapable of standing against the wave of African Independence. Hence the coming extraordinary meetings in Paris in February.

While it is needless to comment on the merits and demerits of the French Community, the world must know that Africa cannot be a projection of any continent or country, let alone France, pledged to poison the African soil and atmosphere by her "prestige" nuclei—test plans. With whichever Foreign countries Africa will have to deal, the prerequisite will be the recognition of this continent's entity, personality and sovereignty. Africa can only be Africa and no other continent. Describing this continent as partially French, British, Belgian, Spanish or Portuguese should have ended with the nineteen-fifties.

MARCH IS FOR THE CONGO AND SIERRA LEONE.

The Congo is having the most sensational evolution towards independence. A year ago Congo had no clearly defined future, and today Congo's independence is a reality.

During his fortnight's visit to the Congo, King Baudouin received about 900 Congolese delegates. This country, for long reckoned as a mere Belgian economic commodity, has exerted itself firmly enough to dictate its demands. The King, accompanied by the Minister for the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, reached an unanimous agreement with the Congolese

leaders on the question of independence. The transition period is to be clearly defined by a "Round Table Conference" due in Brussels in the second half of January.

In March then, the first elections to the Provincial Councils will be held and an African Controlled Provincial Administration instituted. To those who challenge the stability and efficiency of a Congolese government because of its lack of experience, we might as well ask who trained the Belgians to rule themselves? Such paternalism and pretentious concern for Africa have always been motivated by the hidden desire to rule Africa indefinitely. If Belgium has denied the Congolese the right to administrative experience in the last hundred years, what hopes can we entertain that she can do anything better in the next five or ten years.

SIERRA LEONE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE.

Sierra Leone, one of the oldest British colonies in Africa, will have a constitutional Conference on its last phase to independence within the British Commonwealth. Even if we are naive enough to believe that the colonial advent to Africa was to "civilise" and advance it economically, we are not encouraged to maintain this view after analysing the fruit of British Rule in Sierra Leone. Apart from their poor economy, the British concentrated their efforts around the port of Freetown, leaving the hinterland a medieval area accessible largely by the river system.

Sierra Leone is thus one of the new countries in West Africa which could have the pride to broaden the nucleus of the United States of Africa.

APRIL BRINGS INDEPENDENCE OF TOGO.

Togoland, a former "German possession" is, after a further forty years colonial rule by France, to graduate from the International Trusteeship system on 27th April 1960. Togoland, the second of the Trust Territories in Africa to attain independence, has paved the way for future economic assistance by the United Nations to former Trusteeship Territories. This was endorsed in a UN resolution last November. Controversial as it may be as to whether the United Nations should show partiality in favour of newly independent states on the basis of their colonial background, this assistance, although largely earmarked for Ruanda-Urundi, Somalia and Togo might prove more valuable than conditional economic help from some particular well-to-do State.

Togo however has much to offer to Africa other than being a guinea pig with regard to the United Nations Economic help. In its struggle Togo has exemplified a United Front so much needed for the liberation of Africa. Further, Togo fits very well into the West African pattern of unity. Part of Togo, formerly administered by Britain, now forms the Independent State of Ghana together with the former Gold Coast British Colony.

THE MONTH OF MAY MARKS THE BIRTH OF THE ALL-AFRICAN LABOUR MOVEMENT.

The Month of May Marks the Birth of the All-African Labour Movement. It is more than a coincidence that the Labour Month of May should mark the Birth of an All-African Labour Union. It is proposed that a conference of All-African Trade Union Organisations should take place in Casablanca in late April or more likely early in May 1960. The date has not been definitely fixed.

The African revolution to freedom and independence has not to a great extent or necessarily revolved around bloodshed. Passive resistance, economic sanctions and other public weapons to paralyse the normal routine, and hence pull the colonials down from their fool's paradise to the realities of life, have been very effective instruments to further political and labour demands. The African struggle for freedom and independence is therefore fundamentally in the rank and file of the peoples and particularly the Trade Union Organisations, Youth and Women Movements. Hence the importance of these movements, particularly the Labour Movements in the African struggle, cannot be over-emphasised. This was demonstrated by their participation and contribution to the 1st All-African Peoples Conference.

The concept of unity of a Federation of African Labour is not new. Important Labour Organisations like U.G.T.A.N.

(the Federation of Trade Unions of Black Africa.) had started the road. The efforts of U.G.T.A.N. were given an even more Pan-African character by the militant contribution of U.M.T. (The Moroccan Federation of Labour). Today the All-African Peoples Conference endorses a Pan-African Federation of Labour. There may be some difficulties facing the formation of such a mammoth movement, but its essence is beyond question.

On the eve of all plans to unite the African Labour forces, the imperialists have intensified their efforts to disunite them. It is up to the African Labour leaders to see clearly what is good for them. The question of the competition of East and Central Africa with West and North Africa does not arise, for it is the complete African struggle for independence that is at stake. With all the blessings of international association, we must remember that the liberation of Africa is our primary objective, and that this liberation can only be brought about by our efforts, irrespective of any blessings or curses we may receive from anywhere.

It is when the All-African Labour Force can take a united stand that we shall really feel in command of the situation.

When the African Labour Organisations meet in Morocco and successfully chart a united action on the question of African Liberation then, we shall have gone a long way towards the ultimate objective of African unity.

Those Labour Leaders who have been interested in the cold-war campaign may miss the opportunity of talking at great length on the East-West conflict. But if they do so they will have spared more time to face the African problems. Although it is primarily an affair of the Trade Union movements, the Pan-African Federation of Labour does not necessarily mean the entire severance of all organisations associations with International Labour. But it is only natural and indeed an act of great wisdom for the African Labour movement to owe their allegiance to Africa before Brussels or Prague.

JULY 1, MARKS INDEPENDENCE OF SOMALIA.

The Ten-Year Term of the Italian Administration over Somalia, under the direction of the United Nations Trusteeship Agreement, officially terminates in December 1960. But because of other pressures, including the moral force of the United Nations at its 14th General Assembly, Italy agreed to Somalia's Independence on 1st July 1960. Somalia has also been, jointly with Italy, administered by a special United Nations Technical Administration, largely because of the former's great need during its colonial administration for economic assistance from the United Nations, and because of its special character in the International Trusteeship System.

Meanwhile, the Italian pre-Independence arrangements, such as elections and the constitution of an Independent Somalia, are still points of great concern to a large section of the Somali People, as well as to students of Somali affairs. The Government and opposition in Somalia are agreed that once Colonial Italy quits, the Africans will solve their problems. This common outlook, so often blurred by imperialist intrigues, to exploit the African struggle, found important expression through the united Somali people. When independence was advanced to July 1st, the Somali representatives, both governmental and petitioners, responded in a common voice. This might well be a wise counsel to the African Nationalists. The enemy of the African people is fundamentally colonialism. Whatever happens in this struggle, the main target should be the liquidation of this parasite, whose sole strength emanates from the division of our ranks and files.

Apart from the moral force which we inherit from the Somali people, the independence of Somalia has an other significance. The Pan-Somali movement aimed at the independence and unification of the Somalilands into greater Somali, is a laudable move. The independence of Somalia will no doubt impart a greater momentum to this zeal for National Unity.

The catalytic effect of Somalia on the divided Somalilands will be a matter of course. But the independent states of Somalia in the North, and that of Tanganyika soon after, should provide useful windows to the European settlers of Kenya through which to peep at the reality of 1960 Africa. The emergent Independent African States are not going to pay back, as is quite well known, the injustices perpetrated

against them by European settlers, but it is too much to expect independent Somalia, and Tanganyika and Uganda to connive at the Kenya settlers' misbehaviour against the African Peoples.

SEPTEMBER BRINGS AFRICAN MAJORITY FOR TANGANYIKA PARLIAMENT.

Tanganyika, the biggest of all the Trust Territories, is to have an elected majority in its Parliament next September, as a Pre-Elections Committee has recommended. The country is to be divided into 50 constituencies returning 71 members: of these 71 members, fifty would represent "open" seats, and the non-Africans would be represented by 21 "reserved". The present Tanganyika Parliament, extravagantly erulogised by the United Nations Trusteeship Council, is constituted on parity basis, where the Africans, Asian and Europeans are equally represented, notwithstanding the overwhelming majority of the Africans. Such a Parliament has been and still is of course a mockery of democracy. The present modification of racial representation is an improvement of the situation, but it still unjustifiably discriminates against the African peoples.

It is unreasonable that, in spite of the laudable efforts of TANU, especially in the field of racial harmony, the greatest and biggest of the Trust Territories should be the last to attain the final objectives of the Trusteeship system. Tanganyika is primary a responsibility of the United Nations. There is therefore no harm in demanding that the obligations of the United Nations should be focussed on this emergent African State.

The racial representation in the Tanganyika Parliamentary Institution has been criticised. African Nationalists see no justification for political privileges based on colour, more especially when the black race is not offended the same where it is in a minority. The Settlers, who see in Tanganyika a declining power of the non-Africans, condemn the Tanganyika pattern lest it come to them in due time. The situation is rather delicate. TANU has now to face two of the current African challenging problems. First the Tanganyika people must not create a precedent by establishing permanent racial privileges which the Kenya Settlers will, at the end of their struggle, eventually claim. Second, in its evolution to Independence Tanganyika must not be a "multi-racial" African country. The Central African Federation has precisely given us the accurate meaning of multi-racialism and partnership according to the European concept.

Further in the contemplated election, the Tanganyikans have to remember that the application of the previous franchise to fewer people than 60,000 in a country of nearly 8 million people was, to say the least, an insult to the African people. The proposed qualifications of literacy, income or property are hardly an improvement on the last franchise. With the historical blessings of Tanganyika, all chances therefore to utilise its political advantages, not only for its own independence, but also for the acceleration of independence in East Africa in particular and Africa in general, should not be wasted.

OCTOBER 1ST MARKS THE INDEPENDENCE OF NIGERIA.

Larger than Italy and France put together and almost four times the size of the British Isles, which have ruled it for a period exceeding over a century, Nigeria is to gain independence in October 1960.

Nigeria, the "African Giant", which has always been described in superlatives, and the biggest of the British African colonies, is graduating to be the biggest African country. Its rule therefore in the acceleration of African Liberation and the consolidation of African Independence and Unity, will open yet new vistas in the African peoples' struggle for dignity and the occupation of their rightful position in the human family.

The Independence of Nigeria opens yet greater opportunities for African unity. With the Independence of Mali, Togo, Kamerun, the disintegration of the French Community and the attainment of self-government of Sierra Leone and Gambia, the independence and unity of the West African Region of Africa has become a real and practical proposition.

It is our hope and prayer that those who have divided in order to rule Nigeria will recognise the new era. Nigeria must take her leading role in the acceleration of Africa's independence and unity.

NOVEMBER WILL WITNESS CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FUTURE OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND.

The imposition of a federation on the Rhodesias and Nyasaland in 1953, in the teeth of African opposition, was one of the most extreme demonstrations of colonial paternalism of this decade. When the Federation was forced on the Africans, a promise was made to the effect that a conference would be held after seven years to review all aspects of the Federation, including an alternative to dissolve it in case it proved a failure. Although this Conference is due late this year, all tricks have been devised to mislead the public and world opinion. The signs show there is no alternative to secession from the Federation, which has been the cardinal issue ever since its imposition. On the contrary, we are only too aware of plans to endorse the Welensky philosophy of the Central African Federation at this Conference, and in order to do this both carefully and cunningly, the Manckton commission has been appointed.

Despite the combined strenuous efforts of the British Government and the settlers of Central Africa to emphasise the economic viability of the Federation, the African people have not the slightest doubt that the enforced federation was and is a device to ensure European settler domination still, hence the extension of this indefinite racist suppression from the Cape to above the Capricorn.

The Africans, determined to regain their dignity and direct their destiny, resisted most energetically the imposed federation. At the climax of the federation opposition impact, the settler government in the country, in collusion with the British Government, were quick to adopt intimidation, force and terrorism, thereby causing the loss of hundreds of lives, arbitrarily detaining African leaders, and outlawing their Political Organisations.

These injustices, amounting to the most nefarious atrocities, could not however halt the irresistible demand of the African peoples that this imposed federation should be demolished. The use of force by the settlers in February 1959, contrary to the authors' calculations, aggravated the situation and further enlisted international support for the self-determination of the African peoples.

Recalling therefore the malicious intention which imposed the federation, the African Nationalist Movements have energetically expressed their complete opposition to a government in which crude settler opportunists are determined to keep Africans as "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

Instead of calling immediately for the promised 1960 conference, in which the predominant African majority could decide on secession as an alternative to Federation, the British Conservative Government has chosen to send the Monckton Commission to Rhodesia and Nyasaland, apparently to rubber-stamp the selfish demands of the settlers. Apart from the fact that the terms of reference of the Monckton Commission lamentably overlook African demands, the mission has no accredited African representative in its membership. Already the British Labour Party has boycotted the Commission because "it offers no reasonable hope of success" and the African Political and Trade Union Organisations will not participate because "secession from the Federation, which is the cardinal issue and the gateway to the solution, is ruled out."

The composition and the terms of reference of the Monckton Commission, and indeed its very appointment, have met with the entire world's resentment, particularly after the April Steering Committee of the All-African Peoples Conference in Conakry and the African States Conference in Monrovia in August had made clear to the British Government in particular, and to the world at large, the sacred aspirations of the people of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Recalling the concern of a number of Afro-Asian States at the last UN General Assembly on the question of the Federation of Nyasaland and Rhodesia, it must be reiterated that substantial world opinion supports the African people of the Central African Federation in their demands for secession and self-determination. Consequently the 1960 Central African constitutional Conference can be of no value unless secession from Federation is a clear alternative and includes the participation of recognised African Leaders.

Disarmament and the American Economy

by Ricardo LOMBARDI

CAN THE capitalist economy stand the effects of disarmament without risking a crisis and disintegration?

Had this question been put in an earlier epoch the answer would have been easy, and in the negative. The Marxist outlook on the problem was perfectly in its place between the two World Wars. It disputed the freedom of the capitalist organization of the economy to devote the whole producing capacity to turning out consumer goods, directly or indirectly (investments), while the need to freeze a good part of the producing apparatus, immanent in that system, had seemed beyond dispute. Freezing, of course, as regards the availability of commodities for the internal market, that is to say, for the workers, had seemed inevitable, no matter whether it was achieved by forced exports or by resorting to the easier and more accessible armaments system. This view was constantly upheld by practice (and, as we shall see, it is so even today in some measure). It was based on one of the strongest internal contradictions of capitalism: on the contradiction between the tendency of the capacities to grow and the failure to enable all the consumers — that is to say, workers — to benefit by the goods produced.

Few doubt the fact that this point of view fully corresponds to the capitalist society of today: a society changed in the course of an evolution which has reached its full development in some countries, while it is only beginning in others. The passage of capitalism to the phase of mass production (a phase appreciably different from the preceding one, with all the contradictions inherent in it, among them, as the most important, the policy of high wages and the promotion of a universal demand) and the inability of highly-developed capitalist countries to compel the masses to agree to choose between unemployment and low wages and the introduction of the Keynes technique, have given a strong impetus to the capitalist economy, which has considerably altered its traditional structure. This impetus, not accidentally, is synchronized and parallel, and combined with a more and more intensive monopolist concentration.

This newly-arisen and different situation is not, of course, manifest everywhere on the same level, but the impulse, even though varying in intensity and involving less direct results, becomes evident everywhere in the capitalist world, the moment its economy, which is past maturity, exhibits a tendency to pass to the phase of mass production. Indeed the problems stemming from the new structure of the capitalist economy warrant a resuscitation of the old Varga theory in this post-war period. Those problems constituted a component of by no means secondary significance in the changed attitude of the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the question of the inevitability of war.

In endeavouring to answer the question as to whether the capitalist economy can withstand the effects of disarmament, and survive them, it is necessary, in approaching the problem within the framework in which it presents itself, to consider the country where an economy of this type has reached the highest degree of development, viz., the United States of America. And, before all, we have to review the reaction of the US economy to the various phases of the armaments policy in the period following the Second World War.

We do not consider that the selection of such a limited period of time — 14 years in all — suffices to make predictions of future value. In the first place, this period has been characterized by an exceptional intensity regarding changes involving the structure of the producing and distributing mechanism of that country; then, again, never before has the interconnection

and the interdependence between the American economy and that of the rest of the world been so crucial as in the period in question, and lastly, this period saw an overlapping of cumulative phases (among them even a war: Korea) different enough and contradictory enough to defy probing. But even so, this comparatively brief period affords scope for a whole range of assumptions, good enough to permit at least a cautious attempt at generalization.

In effect, there was an initial phase, directly after the end of the war, in 1946, in the course of which armaments expenditure reached 57 billion dollars, or nearly 30 percent of the gross national product. In the following phase — 1946-50 — armaments expenditure dropped to a mere 14 billion dollars annually. Then came phase three, engendered by the Korean War, in the course of which armaments expenditure swung back to 50 billion dollars a year. The end of the Korean War saw a decrease in armaments expenditure to 40 billion dollars — during the 1954-55 period. The same expenditure was stabilized at 46 billion dollars a year from that time until today.

How did the American economy react to these so diversified phases? Clearly, from the point of view of our research, the greatest interest attaches to the two phases marked by the largest cuts in armaments expenditure, viz., the second phase (1946-50) in which the expenditure underwent a 75 percent reduction and more (from 57 billion dollars to 14 billion dollars a year), and the fourth phase (1954-55), which witnessed a 20 percent cut (from 50 billion dollars to 40 billion dollars a year). The first most important finding is that the American economy reacted in highly varying ways to these two phases of considerable war expenditure cuts. Owing to a reduction of only 10 billions (20 percent) during the 1954-55 period, the American economy was hit by the first recession, which the government countered by classical Republican means, viz., reductions to encourage private consumption. By contrast, in the case of the far heavier reduction during the 1946-50 period (43 billions, or 75 percent), no recession occurred, but practically all indices marked a constant increase, and the national income marked an exceptionally high rise.

It would definitely be wrong to regard such a result as evidence of the insensitivity of the American economic system to changes in armaments expenditure; or to venture the paradoxical conclusion that the more drastic the cuts in military expenditure and the stronger the system itself waxes, the quicker and *more than directly proportionate* the strengthening of the capacity of the system proper.

The paradox, though, is only a seeming one, and finds its obvious and ready explanation in private consumption which just in those years enjoyed a boom which more than offset the reduction of public expenditure for armaments. Actually, private consumption was restrained throughout the war, when there was full employment, while the relatively high salaries, unaffected by marked inflationary trends (the internal purchasing power of the dollar had lost only 25 percent compared to prewar), could not be spent thanks to restrictions and the scarcity of consumer goods, particularly durable ones. It was a matter of virtually compulsory saving, which experienced a release upon the termination of the war and the resumption of consumer goods manufacture. In effect, it was a case of the *automatic* substitution of public war spending by private consumption, which had been held in check during the war.

Thus the behaviour of the American economy in 1946-50 should be interpreted in a diametrically opposite sense to that suggested by a non-critical treatment of statistics. It is absolutely true that the American economy would not have

been able to cope with the newly-created situation without the existence of the considerable amount of monetary resources which private individuals had put aside during the war, and without a mechanism for the production of consumer goods, which had been exclusively directed to war needs. If the workers rendered redundant by the suspension of war production had not immediately found employment in production for peacetime purposes (which would have proved impracticable but for the fact that peacetime production had to meet a demand that was frozen during the war, and that the population had not disposed of their spending money), they would have turned into a huge army of unemployed, worse than that created by the great depression of 1929. To deal with such a contingency it would have been necessary to organize and plan for production and make up for the missing means of payment on such a formidable scale as to bring about a veritable revolution in the American way of life and administration.

Consequently, not only is it impossible to invoke the experience of 1946-50 to substantiate the theory that the American economy, and the capitalist economy in general, is now capable of establishing an automatic equilibrium when serious changes occur in the defense budget, but even the generally familiar circumstances that have surrounded that experience militate against such a proceeding. Actually, experience tends to prove quite the contrary, i. e., the extreme vulnerability of the capitalist economy to substantial changes in public spending.

We deliberately use the words "public spending" instead of "armaments expenditure".

That, in fact, is what distinguishes the situation of the American economy today from that of yesterday. Whereas up to the Second World War it seemed certain that the freezing of expenditure (especially that on armaments) was a crucial necessity for the survival of profits, today it can be said that the capitalist economy need not necessarily resort (for its maintenance and survival) only to expenditure intended for armaments — thus freezing expenditure — but that it has another trump in reserve, that is, public spending, especially if not frozen by war production.

Let us examine the situation which would arise if there were an international agreement to abolish or, as a more reasonable assumption perhaps, halve armaments expenditure. For the USA this would mean a reduction of this expenditure from the present 46 billion dollars to 23 billion dollars a year. The first thing to do, then, would be to substitute some new peacetime expenditure for the 23 billion dollars. It must be borne in mind that the American labour force is growing by a million workers annually, and this is coupled with rising productivity and the fact that, at its present level, the unchanged percentage of employed relative to the available manpower is leading to an annual production increase of at least 15 billion dollars. Thus in order to ensure full employment it would be necessary to spend an additional 15 billion dollars which, together with those 23 billions, would give a total of 38 billion dollars in the first year and also in each succeeding year.

As a result, if civilian consumption did not intervene — which, beside absorbing the increased production engendered by the natural population increase, would replace the military expenditure quota — unemployment would appear, involving slightly under 5 million workers. A rough estimate shows that every billion dollars' worth of goods which can be produced but cannot be placed leads to the unemployment of 125,000 workers. This figure would exceed 6.5 millions if military spending were to be abolished entirely. If the cumulative effect hardly conveys the consequences which would be provoked by the appearance of such a formidable mass of unemployed, it is not difficult to imagine the kind of demands that this mass of unemployed would raise in regard to the social structure of the nation.

It is pure illusion to consider that such a huge expenditure can be replaced by private consumption; practically the appeal to private consumption could only be entrusted to the mechanism of reduced tax in an amount approximately equal to the cuts in military expenditure. That was the technique employed to counter the slight threat of recession following on the termination of the Korean war. However, the same technique definitely could not be used with equal success to offset a real crisis, without bringing on large upheavals in the structure of pro-

duction as a result of the frantic trend to create an artificial demand. This would establish the new equilibrium on a very shaky basis, betokening that under such conditions no equilibrium can be attained without disturbing the *terms of trade* in American goods exchanges with the rest of the world, and without encouraging alternating and contrasting inflationary and deflationary trends with overwhelming intensity. The only certain result would be a huge squandering of capital and labour.

It is in face of such a danger that the capitalist myth about the "free choice of the consumer" as the regulative element of economic equilibrium breaks down. That this is a myth is clear not only from its impracticability, but equally from its unreality in a society such as the American (we might say the same about many European social structures also) in which the consumer's choice is actually the result of scientifically calculated actions to organize the market and adjust it, not to the requirements of the consumers, but to the needs of the producers, subordinating it to the interests of large oligopolistic concentrations of financial power.

It would be worth arguing at greater length that private consumption is not capable of solving the problem, if such arguments were not already comprised basically in criticism of the "affluent society" which is appearing with increasing frequency, even in America herself.

From an abstract economic point of view, the problem unquestionably could find a theoretically sound solution: the US Government could continue to safeguard the wages and profits of the workers and capitalists "demobilized" thanks to disarmament, to the same amount as before, without seeking a countervalue in products; or, alternatively, it could continue the same war production and then destroy the products.

Either of these two systems would leave unaltered the equilibrium which preceded a disarmament agreement, and thus avert a crisis. This provides a fresh confirmation of the fact, already indicated, that what really is important to the capitalist economy is not the war designation of a particular quota of the national product, but its freezing character, whether it be brought about by deliveries of goods to soldiers or by destruction of the goods.

But clearly such a solution, incontestable from an abstract point of view, would be practically unworkable, for perfectly obvious social and political reasons. Such a glaring demonstration of the incapability of the system to utilize the national resources and the possibilities offered by disarmament would expose all too openly the negative nature of the capitalist economic system, and this would cause such bitter reaction by public opinion that the system could hardly withstand or survive it.

Thus the only way out lies in recourse to public spending, which alone is capable, efficiently and in a planned way, of ensuring not only the carrying out of public works (roads, schools, hospitals, reclamation projects, etc.), but the establishment of priorities in the satisfying even of individual needs, including a rational allocation of income for investments and consumption, and for concrete measures for the advancement of undeveloped areas of the globe.

Only by transferring to the community the duty of taking measures — not by the traditional means of monetary policy, whose ostensible automatism has suffered a total fiasco, as witness the grave disturbances of equilibrium but through direct and planned intervention — would it be possible to do away with the inhuman paradox that stoppage of the war machine leads to misery, and bring about the beneficial changes mankind rightfully expects.

Those familiar with American society today are aware that recourse to such measures would have a revolutionary connotation, for not only would it challenge the obsolete prejudices stemming from idolizing "the American way of life", but it would introduce a strong element of disturbance of the capitalist order such as it now exists in American society.

Consequently our conclusion is that capitalism (American capitalism specifically) is certainly capable of withstanding and surviving the radical process of disarmament, on condition that it, too, undergoes radical changes i. e., that it ceases to be what it was and what it is now. The introduction of elements of planning "in a pure state" into a capitalist order

such as the American certainly does not amount to socialism. Far be it from us to confuse planning in the capitalist system with socialist planning, and we are even less inclined to confuse economic planning, even on the part of the State, with socialism. But it is indubitable, that, viewed within the framework of the American society, the introduction of a process of public economic planning represents a strong lever whose action goes far beyond its immediate aims, determining the movement of society, the relationships between the classes, morals and ideologies capable of lifting the political struggle in America from a state of degrading stagnation and insignificance. These consequences have been indicated by such an authoritative writer as Walter Lippmann, in a recent issue of the "New

York Herald Tribune," who favours a compromise on the subject of public spending.

It would be difficult to assess in advance the impact of such an event; but it could not fail to prove highly significant in a society such as the American, which is hard to budge from its conformism, but which is apt to develop to the utmost the new principles that happen by chance to make a break in the stronghold of conformism.

It is enough to consider the most probable effects, whose nature is not directly economic: the inevitable political fight for control of public services, once they are charged with planning the utilization of the resources which have become available through disarmament.

COMMENTS

Legal Aspect of Nuclear Test Explosions

by Vido KOSOVIC

EXPERIMENTAL explosions of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons create situations and problems in international law and international relations indicating that, even in the testing phase, these weapons are their own negation. From the legal point of view, this conclusion is based on the fact that these explosions are productive of highly dangerous uncontrolled radiation, which is released with incalculable results over the whole world. It is a question, then, of a qualitatively new device productive of harmful effects that can be neither controlled nor restricted, to say nothing of their unassessable effects on living beings. It will be seen that the question of responsibility for the consequences of nuclear and thermonuclear explosions cannot be satisfactorily dealt with on the basis of the existing rules of international law and responsibility. Complete discontinuation and controlled prohibition of these actually illegal tests represent the only possible solution.

The process of deposit and diffusion of the radioactive fallout accompanying every nuclear and thermonuclear explosion, as well as its whole mechanism, has been thoroughly investigated by scientific circles which make a study of these matters. It has been established by measurements that approximately one-half of the radioactive fallout penetrates through the atmosphere to the tropopause at each explosion. There, in due course, diffusing, it enshrouds the whole globe, and then gradually penetrates back through the ionosphere and within 10 years is deposited all over the surface of the earth. Therefore, the whole earth is exposed to this fallout, regardless of the place where an explosion actually took place. The most dangerous of all the particles which thus become deposited on the earth are those of Strontium 90. This is an isotope whose disintegration, i. e., radiation, cycle equals 19 years, and, as in the case of calcium, its biological habit is to become deposited in the bones.

The other half of the radioactive fallout, which does not penetrate to the tropopause, is partly deposited around the site of the explosion and partly carried away by wind and currents, to form again ringwise on the geographic latitude on which the explosion has taken place.

As regards the harmful effects of radiation on living creatures, notably on human beings, it is believed by scientists that, if the experiments are carried on, they will not only leave traces on the health of the present generation, but that they will lead to grave genetic disturbances. The case of the Japanese coastguard vessel which became exposed to radioactive rain in 1958, at a distance of 330 kilometres from the island of Eniwetok where a test explosion was carried out, has shaken

the confidence of scientists in their perfect knowledge of the effects of radiation, notably of radioactive precipitations. The crew of that vessel were examined by an American-Japanese commission on coming ashore. Except for a decrease in the number of white blood corpuscles among some crew members, no other, direct, injuries from radiation were established. But a year later, in August, 1959, a crew member died of leukemia.

In view of the common danger threatening mankind from nuclear explosions, their illegal nature can be established on various legal grounds. Thus, regardless of the place where they are carried out, the explosions are incompatible with the universal principle of international law about neighbour relations. According to this principle, every state must refrain from undertaking actions or measures on its territory which might cause damage to other states. Likewise a state must not default on its obligations, towards other states. Here it is mainly a question of a form of restraint of the sovereignty of states for the benefit of the international community. It is on this principle, which is also incorporated in the Preamble to the United Nations Charter, that the international neighbourhood law is based.

Considering that the states which are carrying out nuclear explosions are aware of their harmful effects, they could also be condemned on grounds of misuse of rights.

Further, nuclear explosions are incompatible with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and they could also constitute an international crime involving genocide.

As regards the place where they are carried out, American nuclear explosions in the Marshall Islands area, for example, are incompatible with the rules of administration of the trusteeship territories. They are incompatible too, with the general principle of the freedom of the open sea since the USA has declared a huge expanse of the open sea permanently dangerous to navigation, on account of explosions carried out there.

Lastly, every nuclear explosion, regardless of where it takes place, is incompatible with the universal principle of international law stating that the obligations of states arise from humanitarian considerations. Respect for this principle is an imperative for states, not only in time of war, but, especially, in time of peace.

However, all these grounds, except genocide, narrow down to indemnity for damage caused, which cannot be expressed in money. Taking account of the fact that here it is a question of a qualitatively new and particularly dangerous device, the only real solution would be an international agreement on

discontinuation and prohibition of further nuclear test explosions. Temporary discontinuation and the Geneva talks represent a step in this direction.

The test explosion of the first French bomb in the Sahara shows that fresh efforts ought to be made toward the prohibition of nuclear tests. This is borne out by the fact that that explosion was carried out in the face of universal opposition and against the unanimous resolution of the UN General Assembly (France being the only dissenting member). It was even timed to take place during the period of temporary suspension of nuclear explosions and the Geneva talks, which hold out the promise of a solution by agreement.

The use of nuclear weapons in war is no less incompatible with the fundamental principles of international law of war, than with the basic law of war in general. This basic law lays down that, even with the most efficacious weapons, decision should be won in war only by concentrating and deploying all forces so that the main effort shall be directed against the principal military strongholds of the adversary. This basic law of war has been confirmed by the experiences from two World Wars. Based on its recognition is the fundamental principle of the law of war, whereby the only legitimate objectives of a country at war are its armed forces and the military objectives of the adversary. The decimation of the peaceful civilian population to break its morale and will to resist, and the destruction of non-military objectives is not contributive, or is only insignificantly contributive, to victory. Therefore, the basic principles of the law of war appear as a correlative to the basic law of war.

In view of the immeasurable and uncontrolled effect of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, they cannot rightly be used against any legitimate military objective, no matter how vast. Any use of such weapons against legitimate military

objectives would cause so much devastation and destruction of non-military objectives in the vicinity that it would be out of all proportion to the success achieved against the military objective. Given that devastation and destruction is not contributive, or is only insignificantly contributive, to decision in war, the use of nuclear weapons is incompatible both with the basic principle of international law of war and the basic law of war. Here lies the contradiction inherent in nuclear weapons which hinders, if it does not preclude their use.

Prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons should follow also from other rules and usages of international law of war.

If it is considered that war is a continuation and an instrument of general policy by other than peaceful means, then it follows from what has been said that nuclear weapons are not suitable for the conduct of war. In effect, the devastation and destruction left behind by such weapons is out of all proportion to what should eventually be achieved as the purpose of war.

Nuclear weapons tests are incompatible with positive international law. The State conducting them could be sentenced to indemnify the damage caused, in so far as the damage can be expressed in terms of money. However, since this would present no real solution, it is imperative that the states having nuclear weapons stop further test explosions and — as the initial measure toward a general ban on the production of nuclear weapons — bar test explosions, subject to adequate control.

Although the use of nuclear weapons is clearly incompatible with the effective international law of war, their prohibition needs to be at least reaffirmed and expanded by banning even the production and stock piling of these weapons, and by providing adequate control for implementing such a ban.

Khrushchev in Asia

by Obren MILIĆEVIĆ

THE SOVIET Prime Minister, Nikita Khrushchev, has assigned a considerable part of his available time in the period between the day late in last year, when the date to hold the summit conference was fixed, and May 16, when the conference is to begin in Paris, to visiting some Asian countries, including India, Burma, Indonesia and Afghanistan. This fact alone reveals much, when one knows the place and role of these four countries in contemporary international relations, as advocates of the policy of peaceful coexistence and non-attachment to the blocs.

Khrushchev's journey is undoubtedly also aimed at strengthening bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and these countries, although there has been nothing controversial in their relations so far. Their mutual co-operation developed successfully, especially over the past few years, and the concrete arrangements and agreements reached during the current visit of the Soviet Prime Minister will contribute to its further development. The Soviet Union has particularly favourable relations with India, to which it has recently granted a new one and a half billion ruble loan.

India is a very significant factor in world developments to-day, as a country which, as Mr Nehru has often pointed out, is great not because its vast territory, number of inhabitants or military power, but because its policy of peaceful coexistence, and its peaceful views and principles as regards world problems.

The Soviet Union attaches special importance to the development of good relations with the Government of India. In a very brief space of time, India was visited by two delegations of senior Soviet officials: in January, by Klement Voroshilov, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Frol Kozlov, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Yekatarina Furtsova, member of the Presidium of the Central

Committee of the Soviet Communist Party; in February, by the Soviet Prime Minister, Nikita Khrushchev.

As the communique on the talks and a number of subsequently published documents show, the two statesmen had a comprehensive exchange of opinions on the forthcoming East-West negotiations. They noted that there had recently been some favourable changes in the international atmosphere, and that these had brought about a considerable relaxation of tension. This, in their opinion, was, in considerable part due to the personal initiative and joint efforts of the big power leaders, particularly Prime Minister Khrushchev and President Eisenhower. The personal contact "between Khrushchev and Eisenhower has been assessed as a valuable factor in improving international understanding" since, among other things, it has made it possible to agree on the holding of top-level conference.

Prime Minister Nehru, the communique says, repeated his previously expressed high opinion of Khrushchev's proposal on general disarmament, adding that in the eyes of India, these principles are essentially an appeal to carry into practice the principle of non-violence in the settlement of international problems. The two Prime Ministers reaffirmed their stand on the banning of thermo-nuclear weapons, pleading that this should be the first step of the big powers towards disarmament.

Among the numerous speeches delivered by Khrushchev on his tour, the one in the Indian Parliament was considered to be particularly interesting. In it he said: "In the consciousness of peoples and the minds of politicians and statesmen — even those who are on opposite sides ideologically — it is becoming increasingly recognized as indisputably true that the peaceful coexistence of states is a historical fact, a necessity of life resulting from the contemporary stage of development of human society.

The principles of "Pancha Shilla" have forced way into history, and this is in no small degree the merit of peaceloving India".

This time, the Soviet Prime Minister spoke very highly of India's foreign policy, as was stressed in the joint communique, which said: "In his talks with Prime Minister Nehru and other Indian Government officials, the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Nikita Khrushchev, highly estimated the policy pursued by India, a policy of neutrality and nonparticipation in military alliances. He emphasized that this policy was greatly appreciated in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government is convinced that by pursuing this policy, India and her Prime Minister are making a substantial contribution to the preservation and strengthening of peace throughout the world. Khrushchev has conveyed his good wishes to the Government and people of India in the carrying out of this policy and has emphasized that the joint efforts of the Soviet Union and India in the struggle for peace will continue to be a significant factor contributing to the lessening of international tension and the development of international co-operation".

This is certainly a major tribute to the vital contribution made by India and other non-bloc countries in the struggle for the consolidation of peace and the general relaxation of tension, in a struggle which has not always been simple or well understood in some parts of the world. It is, however, beyond doubt that these countries, free from any narrow bloc interests or motives, will continue to play a significant role in

continuing their great exertions to solve fundamental international problems by democratic means.

This question was one of the topics during the Soviet Prime Minister's stay in India and in Indonesia. An indication to this effect was a report recently published in Moscow's "Pravda" which said, that in his statement to the Soviet journalists, Prime Minister Khrushchev expressed the view of the USSR Government that the Asian countries should take an active and direct part in the settlement of the disarmament problem now, or at a later stage of the negotiations.

President Sukarno of Indonesia referred to the same question in his speech in Surabaya, and expressed his surprise that no representative of the Asian and African countries had been invited to attend the forthcoming negotiations. Mr Nehru expressed the hope that the main questions, such as disarmament, would at a later stage be brought before wider councils of statesmen which would include Asian representatives.

Consequently, a very important question of principle was dealt with: can just and democratic solutions be reached and peace in the world consolidated if the countries which have for years made consistent efforts to bring about negotiations and relaxation, and which have pledged themselves to a peaceful solution of all international disputes and problems, do not take an active and direct part in them?

The answer to this question is indisputably "no", if what is desired is a real peace; that is, something more than an armistice.

MILITARY COMMENTS

Peacetime and Wartime Armies under modern Conditions

by Franjo TUDJMAN

THE MAJORITY of countries entered the Second World War with the outdated mobilization system from the First World War, whereby "peacetime" or "enlisted" troops provided only an "enlisted" core for the mobilization of an army for war. This peacetime army system, which gradually provided a factual wartime army by way of mobilization and the issue of war equipment from depots, was historically outmoded even during the last war. The armies which practiced it were helpless in defence against aggression, for in their peacetime formation they were unprepared to withstand lightning attacks by previously mobilized aggressor forces.

The development of modern military technology, notably nuclear weapons and long-range rocket armament, as well as of massive armoured and airborne troops, which make it possible to launch an entirely unexpected attack even with a relatively small force, dictates fresh problems and tasks in connection with the buildup of peacetime and wartime military establishments.

Instead of the classical peacetime armies, today at least one part of such an army needs to be prepared for combat, i. e., able to counter the attack of an aggressor at any moment, and thereby affording as much time as possible for mobilization of the rest of the armed forces, as well as for the transition of the whole country to a war footing.

The last war clearly showed that it is unrealistic and quite wrong to expect to be able to anticipate in time or guess when an attack by an aggressor will begin. In practice such guesses have led either to premature mobilization (France, for example, carried out mobilization eight months ahead of the German attack, with the resultant attrition of the national economy) or, worse still, to delayed mobilization, as in the case of Poland, who proclaimed mobilization one day ahead of the German

invasion, Norway, who did so only after the aggressors had entered the country, and the former Yugoslavia, who mobilized on the second day of the war, etc. In spite of various preventive measures, the fact is that the German troops found all these countries unprepared for defence (the former Yugoslavia and Poland did not succeed in mobilising even one-half of their effective troops, while the Norwegian army never added to its peacetime complement).

In conditions of modern war technology, an aggressor would need far less time for launching an attack, in view of the fact that the great powers today have strong armed forces at their disposal, by means of which they can begin war operations without previous mobilization. Such armies, representing even in peacetime forces for the prosecution of war, or at least a "first strategic column," have been formed both on the basis of the experience of the last war and the possibilities of modern military technology, and are the product of the policy dictated by acting from a position of strength, i. e., a constant balancing on the brink of the "cold" and "hot" war.

Contemporary conditions categorically demand that even the peacetime armies of little countries be such as to be capable of immediately resisting attack by an aggressor, that is to say, they might be of the highest possible efficiency and possess the maximum combat preparedness. With this object in view, they must be equipped with modern combat technology which would give them the maximum prevention against a rapid break-through by the enemy forces, thereby affording the necessary time for the mobilization of the whole nation for a defensive war.

However, assuming that no country is able to maintain in peacetime an army even approximately massive enough for modern war, the reserve part of the army will still represent the largest section of the armed forces. Within the framework

of this new ratio between the "peacetime" and "wartime" part of the armed forces, however, the problems of mobilization, concentration and deployment of the war army appear in a fresh light. Previously, according to military theory and practice, these were three separate strategic actions, which succeeded one another. Today this no longer corresponds to the new conditions.

Under modern conditions, on the assumption that an aggressor can start a war without previous mobilization, the country attacked must be capable of countering him with a peacetime army even before the beginning of its mobilization. Thanks to the speed and impetus of war operations today, it is virtually impossible for mobilization, concentration and strategic deployment to constitute separate procedures as before. On the contrary, today they have to be combined to the maximum, i. e., carried out parallel, in order to gain as much time as possible. The system of mobilization and concentration of forces must be capable of being put into effect within the shortest time, perhaps in a few hours, for it is no longer possible to count on weeks or even days, as before. This is especially true of those territories which may be threatened by a break-through of the enemy's armoured and motorized forces or airborne troops.

In connection with the problem of the creation of a modern army, there has been the familiar controversy over the choice between a "small, professional, technological army," or a "massive people's army." The view that prevails is that in time of peace it is necessary to keep a smaller, technically highly equipped army, and in time of war a massive army. This means that in the future, too, all countries will have to mechanize the largest part of their army for war, most probably during the course of war operations. The problem today is how to ensure rapid mobilization, and how to obtain a high standard of the units mobilized. Apparently this problem can only be solved successfully by basing mobilization on the territorial (militia), or producing-territorial, principle. This is shown not only by the experiences of various revolutionary wars of liberation (including the French Revolution, the civil war in Russia, the Chinese civil and anti-Japanese wars, as well as the Yugoslav Liberation War), but also by the experiences of those countries which have created their armed forces on the militia system in more recent times (for example, the Home Guard in Great Britain during the Second World War, the militia system in Switzerland, some similar forms in Scandinavian countries, and so on). Of course, the possibility of applying mobilization on the principle of a militia depends,

in the first place, on the social and political conditions of the country in question, as well as on a range of other factors, such as the general geographical position of a country, the grouping of manpower reserves in individual regions, the economic effect on the economy and the army, and so on.

As revealed by the wide attention accorded to this question in military literature, as well as by Premier Khrushchev's recent statement about the reduction of the Soviet armed forces, many countries are applying various forms of mobilization on the territorial principle to create the different units of a war army, because this largely meets modern conditions.

The territorial mobilization system, and particularly the producing-territorial one, offers great advantages in connection with the quality of the units, since it enables the formation of homogeneous, solid units on the basis of communes and working collectives, as well as in connection with the speed of mobilization, the method making for the formation of a new war unit within the shortest time.

In any case, it is clear that the militia system is the most suitable form for a quick and mass-scale engagement of the people in defence of their country from aggression, but that it is less convenient for the preparation of an army of conquest. Practice has shown, however, that in our time it is impossible to base an army system merely on this principle, owing in the first place to the development and complexity of modern war technology, as well as to all those factors which demand peacetime combat preparedness of a certain part of the army: in other words, the new conditions dictate the need to seek both a theoretical and a practical solution in the combination of these two systems. In this way small countries in particular are able to ensure the maximum combat preparedness of the peacetime army while at the same time ensuring, through the application of the militia territorial principle, that the war army represents the practical arming of the people in the highest possible measure.

Under modern conditions, therefore, "a state of peace" basically differs from the conception held hitherto. It is realistic to assume that such a trend of development of the "peacetime" and "wartime" army will be manifest until it can reliably be reckoned that war has been eliminated as a means of policy and of international settlements. Peacetime armies can be reduced still further, but what is left of them will always have to maintain maximum combat preparedness, while the militia, or the territorial system, will be met with even wider application as long as there is latent danger of aggression.

YUGOSLAVIA TODAY

Hydro-electric and Soil reclamation Projects in Eastern Herzegovina

by Stjepan MIKULEC

THE DINARIC mountain range and its offshoots stretching parallel with the Adriatic seaboard and penetrating about 60 kilometers into the interior of the country cover almost one third of Yugoslav territory. The configuration of the terrain is very mountainous and the vegetation sparse. The sea winds blowing landward and the high mountain barrier running parallel with the coast make for abundant precipitation, mostly during the winter months. Owing to the porous limestone (karst), the watercourses are relatively short and most of them have no surface connection with the sea, as the water is drained through the innumerable fissures and

gullies. The uneven distribution of rainfall over the year and the lack of direct drainage threatens the few so-called fields (depressions) with some fertile soil, which are usually flooded in wintertime, whereas the vegetation is unable to develop during the summer owing to the lack of moisture. Agriculture, the only economic activity, is extremely under-developed, so that these regions are mostly economically passive.

The past ten years of accelerated economic development have had a favourable effect on these regions as well. Serious efforts were made in the study and exploration of the terrain and it was found that water and bauxite constitute great natural

resources which can be fairly cheaply exploited, thus also rendering a great service to agriculture. This led to the construction of several big hydro-electric projects, and work on others is progressing rapidly.

The big project for the exploitation of water resources begun in East Herzegovina, near Dubrovnik, is a case in point. The area concerned covers about 5,000 square kilometers. The soil is mostly porous limestone and dolomite so that most streams have subterranean courses. The depressions (fields) in this region which lie parallel with the coast are situated at three altitude levels. The biggest two — the Nevesinje and Gacko fields — are located at an altitude of 850 to 900 meter above sea level. The steep declivity to the sea and its vicinity make it possible to exploit these waters at several levels.

According to the plan worked out by "Energoinvest" of Sarajevo, the exploitation of the waterpower available is foreseen according to the attached scheme. Six hydro-electric stations with about 700 MW installed power, capable of generating about 3.5 thousand million KWh electric power annually, would be built. The electricity produced would be distributed over the regular power grid and for the processing of bauxite into aluminium. Adequate flood prevention measures would likewise be taken in order to protect the adjacent fields. The uneven distribution of water would be completely regulated by the correct location of the accumulation basins and tunnels and the waterpower available utilised at six levels before reaching the sea. The creation of three artificial lakes is foreseen. One in the lower part of the Nevesinje field with a capacity of about 150 million cubic meters of water, the other of approximately the same size in the Černica field and the third, eight times as large, in the upper course of the Trebišnjica river, the strongest watercourse in that region.

The planning of such projects requires careful study and the performance of large-scale exploratory works which are partly completed.

Large-scale exploration work has been performed during the past few years in the Trebišnjica valley. This led to the construction of the two largest hydro-electric plants and the big artificial lake of Miruša. Two dams, 105 and 25 meters high respectively, will be built, while water will be conveyed

by means of two 16.6 kilometers long tunnels down to the sea. In view of the fact that the rate of flow of Trebišnjica averages almost 100 cubic meters of water per second, a gradient of 400 meters through a tunnel 6 meters in diameter would produce 2.2 thousand million KWh of power. This stage is expected to be completed by the end of 1964. Stage two will cover the accumulation lake in the Nevesinje field and two tunnels which will convey water from the Nevesinje and Dabar fields, which is at present flowing underground into the Bregava and Neretva rivers, to the Trebišnjica artificial lake. This will raise the capacity of the projects built during stage one by over 30 per cent and yield another 350 GWh at two other levels. The waters of the Gacko and Černica valleys, which at present flow underground into the Trebišnjica, will be harnessed during stage three, thus completing the system which will then reach full capacity.

Agriculture will benefit to no little extent from these hydro-electric projects, although some arable land will have to be sacrificed for the creation of the artificial lakes.

The artificial lakes will enable the irrigation of about 10,000 hectares of farmlands in the Nevesinje field, about 6000 hectares in the Dubrava area, about 3000 hectares on the Dabar and Fatnica fields and 11,000 hectares on Popovo field and along the coast. Irrigation will raise the value of farm production by over 15 billion dinars annually, so that this area will no longer be economically passive.

The construction costs of these projects are estimated at about 100 thousand million dinars and will require great financial efforts. In view of future returns, these investments are highly economical, so that work on stage one has already begun with the initial investment of about 40 thousand million dinars.

Official Statements

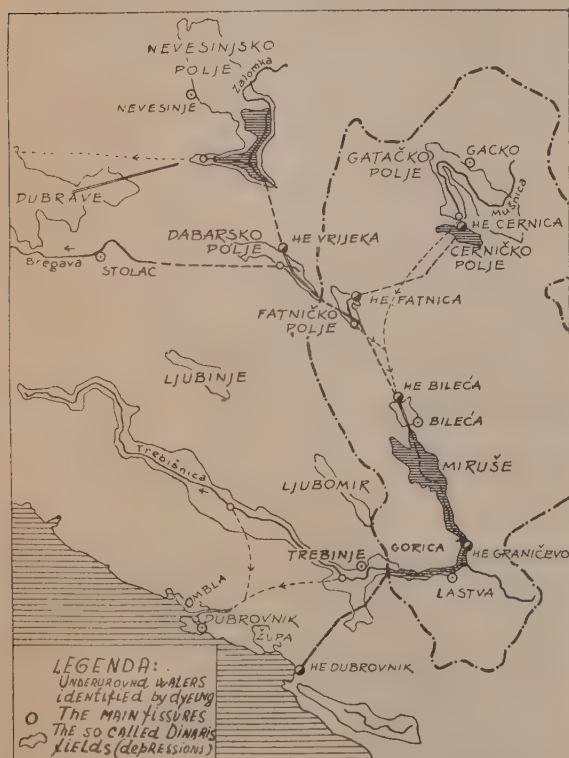
Yugoslav Attitude on...

Vice-Presidents of the Federal Executive Council to Greece. — "Discussions are in progress with the Greek Government to establish the date of the visit to Greece of the Vice-Presidents of the Federal Executive Council Aleksandar Ranković and Mijalko Todorović. Both Vice-Presidents had received invitations for this visit before which they were pleased to accept. As far as we know, Vice-President Todorović will travel to Greece at a very early date."

Yugoslav-Greek Commission at work. — "At its recent meeting, the Yugoslav-Greek Mixed Commission for Borderland Traffic adopted its rules of procedure and settled the question of visaing of passes. The Commission's members also reached agreement on borderland traffic, including crossings by dual owners. The Commission concluded its work in the spirit of constructive co-operation and scheduled its next meeting for next June, in Skopje".

Ferhat Abas's Declaration. — "We regard the speech of the Premier of the Algerian Interim Government, Ferhat Abas, of February 17 as a further constructive contribution for the settlement of the Algerian question, viz. as a contribution to achieve the conclusion of the war in the present phase by way of negotiations and to realize the proclaimed principle of self-determination in Algeria. In our opinion, the ideas set forth in Ferhat Abas's speech provide a sound and realistic basis for a solution of the problem and open the prospect of lasting peace and unhindered development of the future Algeria."

On the attitudes of the German Democratic Republic's Government. — Asked by the correspondent of the ADN news agency about the attitude of the Yugoslav Government toward the various actions and outlooks of the Government of the German Democratic





XXVIITH INTERNATIONAL AGRICULTURAL FAIR IN NOVI SAD YUGOSLAVIA

Republic, the official representative of the State Secretariat of Foreign Affairs said: "The Yugoslav attitude to the German problem is well familiar and clearly defined. As regards the question of a separate Peace Treaty with the Democratic German Republic, we hope that not all the possibilities for agreement and a general settlement of the German problem integrally have been exhausted yet. Apparently the latest positive development of the international situation affords fresh possibilities in that direction."

The speech of Pope John XXIII. — "We do not have the full text of that speech, and we do not wish to advance comment on the basis of fragmentary news agency reports. The information of certain news agencies about the relations between the Vatican and our country represents unfounded guesswork. However, it is a fact that some fresh circumstances, more auspicious than those from recent years, have appeared in the relations between the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Vatican."

The French atomic explosion. — "On principle Yugoslavia is opposed to all nuclear tests, regardless of which country carries them on, and it is regrettable that it should have come to the French atomic explosion in the Sahara despite the opposition of the UN General Assembly and at a time when international meetings of special moment for the disarmament problem, the further relaxation of tensions and recovery in international relations are directly pending. The Yugoslav Government cannot but feel concerned over the possible harmful consequences of radiation from that explosion on its territory. The explosion of the French atomic bomb in the Sahara is another reminder of the need to make fresh efforts for the most urgent conclusion of an agreement on general and lasting discontinuation of all nuclear explosions."

The Soviet—Indian communique. — "This communiqué — which underlines the need of general disarmament, the prohibition of nuclear and other mass-destruction weapons, as well as the need to promote international relations on the basis of the principles of active co-existence, friendship and assistance for the development of economically backward areas — is appraised as a positive contribution to the efforts for improvement of the international situation. We also regard as significant the Soviet tribute to the extrabloc policy of India and the contribution made by her, in pursuing such a policy, to the efforts for the preservation and consolidation of peace in the world."

On the Declaration of the Warsaw Pact States. — "Our impression is that the participants in the Moscow consultations have reaffirmed their readiness for constructive negotiations with the West in a positive way. We regard it as useful that particular stress has been laid on the importance and urgency of solving the disarmament problem and, within that framework, also the question of nuclear tests. As for the speech of the Chinese observer at that meeting, the part of the speech in which he denounced Yugoslavia is evidently inconsistent with the spirit of the published declaration."

The attacks against Yugoslavia. — "Regrettably, the policy of incessant and brutal attacks against Yugoslavia by the highest-ranking Albanian leaders and the official Albanian press, accompanied by distortions of facts from Yugoslav attitudes, which is a near-daily practice, makes it impossible to maintain normal relations, contrary to our desires and intentions. In the last times there have been similar brutal attacks also on the part of the most responsible leaders and the press of the People's Republic of China, as well as in the publications of Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. Those attacks are grossly incompatible with the declaration of the recent Warsaw Pact meeting, with the proclaimed attitudes in favour of realization of the principle of co-existence, and particularly with the proclaimed proposals for improvement of the interstate relations and conditions in the Balkans. The repeated attacks by the Chairman of the Communist Party of Indonesia, Aidita, who denounced "Yugoslav revisionism" and Yugoslavia, charging her with the intent "to carry out the annexation of Albania" and "to break the national unity of the Indonesian people," constitute a false and deliberately defamatory campaign against the policy of our country. Those attacks represent an attempt to revive and keep up the cold-war method which has been condemned by progressive mankind. This kind of activity by Aidita stands even in sharp contrast to the existing relations of cordial friendship between Yugoslavia and Indonesia."

(Extracts from the news conference held by the official spokesman of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on February 19).

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By **EDVARD KARDELJ**, Vice-President of
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Meetings and Talks

AT GOVERNMENTAL LEVEL

VISIT OF YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT DELEGATION TO WEST AFRICA. — Sergej Krajger, Member of the Federal Executive Council, arrived in Yugoslavia on February 14, after a six-week tour of the West African countries, as chief of the Yugoslav Goodwill Mission. The Mission visited Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Ghana and Nigeria. Meetings were held in all these countries with the heads of state and other responsible political and economic representatives.

YUGOSLAV DELEGATION IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN. — Nikola Minčev, member of the Federal Executive Council and Secretary of State for Finance, returned to Belgrade on February 17 after a fortnight's visit to Pakistan and India as guest of the governments of these countries. The visit provided an excellent opportunity for an exchange of views on mutual relations in the sphere of economic cooperation, and opened broad prospects for livelier economic cooperation and Yugoslav participation in the fulfilment of the five-year plans of the two countries.

MILJAKO TODOROVIĆ TO VISIT GREECE. — Mijalko Todorović, Vice President of the Federal Executive Council, will leave on March 17 on an official visit to Greece, at the invitation of the Vice Premier, Canelopoulos.

OF THE TRADE UNIONS

STUDIES GROUP OF YUGOSLAV TRADE UNIONS IN AUSTRIA. — A study group of the Central Council of the Yugoslav Trade Unions, headed by Đoko Pavlović, member of the Central Council, left for Austria on February 14. As guests of the Austrian Trade Unions the members of the group will study various problems in connection with workers' education, and visit several institutions for promoting this, and also hold talks with the Austrian trade union representatives.

COOPERATION WITH IRAQI TRADE UNIONS. — Milan Mirković, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Educational Workers Union, visited Baghdad from February 23 to 26, where he attended the congress of the Iraqi Teachers' and Professors' Union.

VISIT OF VENEZUELAN TRADE UNION CHAIRMAN. — Hose Gonzales Navarra, President of the National Trade Union Confederation of Venezuela arrived in Belgrade on February 25 as a guest of the Central Council of the Yugoslav Trade Unions. Mr Navarra will become acquainted with workers' management in Yugoslavia and other trade union activities.

OF THE STUDENT FEDERATION

SESSION OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENT UNION. — A delegation of the Yugoslav Student Federation is taking part in the session of the Executive Committee of the International Student Union in Tunis, which is attended by delegates and observers from over forty countries. The tasks of the International Student Union with regard to the promotion of cooperation and unity on the basis of national independence, and the strengthening of international solidarity with the students of Algeria and other African countries in their struggle for national independence, will be reviewed on this occasion.

OF THE SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

INTERNATIONAL TIES OF SOCIALIST ALLIANCE. — From the time of the Fourth Congress until the end of last year, the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslav Working People was visited by over sixty delegations and many representatives of socialist, workers' and other parties. Meanwhile over forty

official delegations and individual representatives of the Socialist Alliance of Working People visited various socialist and progressive parties abroad. There were also many informal meetings with the representatives of socialist and workers' parties and movements from many countries of all parts of the world.

Negotiations and Agreements

ECONOMIC

ECONOMIC ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC.

— The Yugoslav enterprises "Rade Končar" and "Litostroj" concluded an agreement for the delivery and installation of equipment for the "Yarmouk" hydroelectric plant in the Syrian Province of the United Arab Republic. This project is valued at 427 million dinars.

RATIFICATION OF TRADE PROTOCOL WITH CEYLON. — The ratification documents of the Protocol attached to the Trade Agreement of July 30, 1953 between Yugoslavia and Ceylon were exchanged in the Yugoslav State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on February 18. The Protocol was signed in Belgrade on May 5, 1959.

AGREEMENT WITH TURKEY. — The ratification documents of the Agreement on the indemnification of Turkish nationalised property, rights and interests in Yugoslavia, were signed in the Turkish Ministry for Foreign Affairs on February 20. The exchange was effected by the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs Zorlu and the Yugoslav Ambassador in Ankara, Miloš Carević.

OTHER CONTACTS

HASAN BRKIĆ IN LEIPZIG. — Hasan Brkić, Member of the Federal, Executive Council and Secretary for Industry of the Federal Executive Council, attended the opening of the Leipzig International Fair on February 27. Brkić is head of a Yugoslav delegation which will view the latest industrial and economic achievements in East Germany on this occasion.

Chronicle of Political Events

February 15 — Yugoslavia joined the International Naval Consultative Organization, thus becoming the 35th member of the first inter-governmental organization for marine transport.

February 16 — A session of the Federal Executive Council was held, with Vice-President, Mijalko Todorović, in the chair. A decree was passed on the payment of travel and other expenses of civil servants, as well as one on the conditions and procedure for the permission of abortions, a decision relative to elections for workers' councils, regulations on the distribution of resources of the General Investment Fund for the financing of

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transport in 1960, a decision sanctioning special flights by foreign civilian and commercial aircraft over Yugoslav airspace, and several other decrees and decisions. Ljupčo Arsov, member of the Federal Executive Council, submitted a report on his visit to the Cameroons, Morocco, and Tunisia and Sergej Krajger, member of the Federal Executive Council, reported on the tour of the Yugoslav Goodwill Mission to Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone. It was decided to establish a Yugoslav Embassy to Cambodia and a General Consulate in Bogota (Columbia). Several international agreements ratified on this occasion.

February 19 — The third session of the Cultural and Educational Council of Yugoslavia was held, and various problems pertaining to cultural life in the commune debated.

February 20 — President Josip Broz Tito received a delegation of the Yugoslav Federation of Womens' Societies in connection with the forthcoming fiftieth anniversary of Womens Day, on March 8.

February 22 — The Second Congress of Yugoslav Civil Engineers and Technicians was held, and several reports on various problems of civil engineering, the promotion of this branch, and prospects of industrialisation, were submitted on that occasion.

February 22 — The Serbian Academy of Science convened at a formal session marking the promotion of the newly appointed full and correspondent members of the Academy. Edvard Kardelj, a newly elected member of the Serbian Academy of Science, delivered a inaugural address, in the presence of the President of the Republic.

February 24 — A consultation was held in Belgrade on the more rapid and up-to-date advancement of industrial production. It was noted that more efficient cooperation between enterprises is necessary if productivity is to be raised. Edvard Kardelj, Vice President of the Federal Executive Council, also took part in the discussion, while the closing speech was delivered by Svetozar Vukmanović, Chairman of the Central Trade Union Council of Yugoslavia.

February 25 — A session of the Federal Nuclear Energy Commission was held under the chairmanship of Aleksandar Ranković, when the draft plan for the development of nuclear energy in Yugoslavia during the 1960—1964 period was adopted.

February 25 — The annual convention of the Federal Chamber of Foreign trade was attended by 32 representatives of foreign trade and manufacturing enterprises. Various aspects of Yugoslav foreign commerce and problems of exports and imports were analysed. The convention elected a new President and Secretary of the Chamber. Ljubo Babić, member of the Federal Executive Council, was elected President.

Diplomatic Diary

February 17 — Mirko Tepavac, former Minister Plenipotentiary in the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Hungary, by Decree of the President of the Republic.

February 18 — President Tito received Abdelmelek Bergaui, Tunisian Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Yugoslavia, who presented his Letters of Credence.

February 18 — Mita Miljković, Yugoslav Ambassador to Athens, presented the eminent Greek functionaries Voyagis, Kalias, Vasilikos and Tsakalotos with high Yugoslav decorations, which had been conferred upon them by President Tito.

February 22 — President Tito received Mihailo Javorski, Yugoslav Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Italy, and Jovo Kapicic, newly appointed Yugoslav Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Sweden, who are to leave soon on their new assignments

Our New Contributors

REGINALD MAUDLING: *President of the British Board of Trade. First elected to Parliament in 1950, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Civil Aviation (1952), Secretary for Finance (1953—1955), Minister of Supply (1955—1957), Director of the G.P.O. (1957—1959). Appointed President of the Board of Trade in October 1959.*

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Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CONTENTS:

Regional integrations contribute to the increase in world trade — R. Maudling	1
On the Eve of Committee of Ten Meeting Yugoslavia and West Africa's Countries — Marijan Barišić	4
1960 — Africa year — J. K. Kale	6
Disarmament and the American economy — Ricardo Lombardi	10
Legal aspect of nuclear test explosions — Vido Kosović	12
Khrushchev in Asia — Obren Miličević	13
Peacetime and waretime armies under modern conditions — Franjo Tudjman	14
Hydroelectric and soil reclamation projects in Eastern Herzegovina — Stjepan Mikulec	15

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